3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

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any group where definite indications of true tribal organization are absent. If the *concept* of tribe is to retain any significance whatsoever it must not be stripped of its basic implication of political unity. Yet *political* affiliation of any kind between one and another village of many of the *social* and *geographical* units here treated was entirely lacking. In other words, the political unit was the village itself, any political entity of greater embrace being wholly unknown.[20] Villages, under this type of organization, are not called tribes here, for to do so would not only violate customary usage but would merely involve substitution of a relatively ambiguous term for a very specific and satisfactory one.[21]

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This condition of village autonomy did not obtain in all parts of the Columbia Basin in 1850 or subsequently. Indeed it would be difficult in the light of present knowledge to circumscribe the area where such organization was to be found at the time of white advent. It existed to a marked degree among most of the Central Interior Salish and in a somewhat modified or transitional form among adjacent peoples. Those groups, on the other hand, with the most characterictic tribal organization were the same ones that had most extensively accepted Plains culture. The obvious implication, that village autonomy at one time was characteristic of the whole Basin, would be difficult to prove with finality at the present moment. Yet it is of interest to note that this type of political organization is not by any means restricted to the Columbia Basin but recurs in many parts of the Pacific slope. It has been noted particularly in California where in some parts the tendency toward dissociation is carried to even greater extremes. Dr. A. L. Kroeber states that, "Tribes did not exist in California in the sense in which the word is properly applicable to the greater part of the North American Continent. . . . The extreme of political anarchy is found in the northwest [of California], where there is scarcely a tendency to group towns

[20] Cf. Ray, 9, 109-10.

[21] The point here is not a linguistic one. There can be no objection to an aberrant use of a *term*, if clearly defined and consistently applied, unless there be danger of a consequent confusion of *concept*, which in this case seems inevitable to me.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

into higher units, and where even a town is not conceived as an essential unit."[22] Discussing the Klamath of southern interior Oregon, Dr. Leslie Spier says that, "The identity of these [Klamath] groups resolves itself solely into aspects of group consciousness. There is no political mechanism within the group. When it comes to war with outsiders, each group can act for itself, others may join if they wish. At the other extreme, the towns are not sharply separated. A town is probably in large a body of relatives, although not so clearly so that towns are exogamous. In short, the tribelet is a body with a community of interest which hardly extends to the Klamath as a whole."[23] Speaking more generally, Dr. Spier observes that, "Political separation was carried to a high degree throughout the Pacific slope, the local communities being almost without exception autonomous, or at most grouped for common action within a quite restricted district."[24] Dr. Spier makes a similar statement with specific reference to the Wishram of the Columbia river Dalles.[25] Dr. Jacobs has informed me that all of the peoples of the mid-coast of Oregon likewise observed strict village autonomy.

East of the Columbia Basin in central Idaho somewhat different conditions prevailed. There is no question but that tribal organization was present among the Nez Perce since a tribal council whose decisions were binding upon all members of the group was coupled with an elective war chief of wide powers. Yet even here each village had its individual peace time chief with authority limited to his own village and during peace there was little relationship among villages.[26] Among the Cayuse and Umatilla west of the Nez Perce, and the Coeur d'Alene to the north, political organization was somewhat similar. Particularly noticeable was the recognition of tribal chiefs on the basis of war records and especial emphasis on tribal sol-

[22] A. L. Kroeber, "Handbook of the Indians of California," in *Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1925), LXXVII, 830.
[23] Leslie Spier, "Klamath Ethnography," in *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* (Berkeley, 1930), XXX, 22.
[24] *Ibid.*, 309.
[25] Spier, "Wishram Ethnography," 160.
[26] Herbert J. Spinden, "The Nez Percé Indians," in *Memoir, American Anthropological Association* (Lancaster, Pa., 1908), II, 242-43.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

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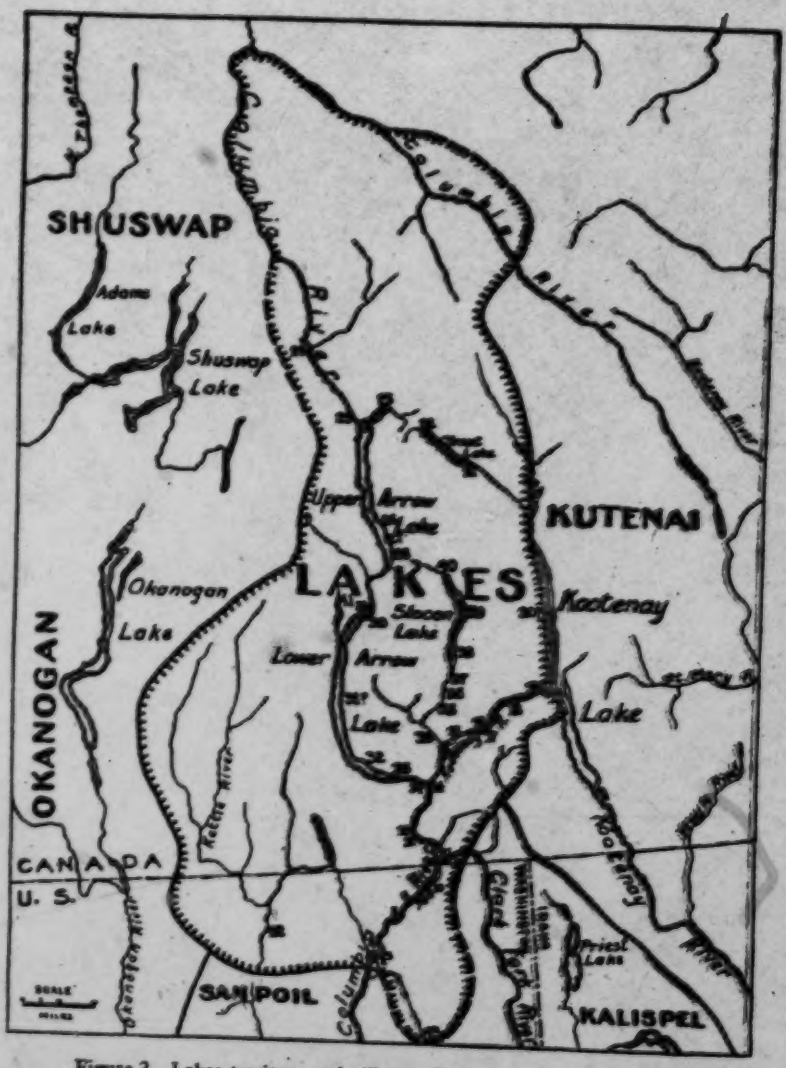

Figure 2. Lakes territory and villages. See text for village names.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

idarity under a single war chief during periods of hostility. Proceeding from the Umatilla to the Yakima and Wanapam and thence to the Columbia a gradual diminution in tribal emphasis is observed, with complete disappearance for some distance beyond that point. Illuminating is the former Yakima feeling of responsibility for the safety of any member of another group while he remained within Yakima territory. When the visitor was ready to leave he was given safe convoy to the Yakima boundary, Satus Pass, for example, beyond which he was upon his own responsibility. Also, scouts were stationed at many strategic points, in the interests of the group as a whole. The cementing effect of frequent warfare was to be seen in the organization of the Columbia[27] although this appears to have been a condition of no great age. The northernmost group of the Columbia Basin, the Lakes, exhibited quite a different type of political unity. A marked feeling of solidarity seems to have grown out of the uniqueness of their habitat. They occupied a series of interconnecting lakes and rivers over which they travelled in circuits,[28] making for a maximum of social intercourse and demanding considerable cooperation. Moreover, they were effectively shut off from adjacent groups on the west and north by high mountain ranges. Though conditions of this nature do not in themselves produce political unity, as Dr. Kroeber has pointed out,[29] yet they may prove significant factors in such a development. Among the Lakes this development appears to have occurred.

It is not argued here that village autonomy indicates the absence of any significant unit of larger compass than the village. The essential point is that under these circumstances the larger unit was ethnic or social in nature. Such a group often lacked even so much as a name to describe it. Thus the names Nespelem and Kittitas, for example, which we apply to ethnic groups, are derived from the political names of single villages;[30] in native use they had no such wide application. At other times

[27] Teit, "Middle Columbia Salish," 126.
[28] See map, fig. 2.
[29] Kroeber, 14.
[30] See Nespelem village no. 2, Kittitas no. 2.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

we use words of purely English derivation such as Colville and Columbia; or we apply native terms for linguistic units to ethnic groups, as in the case of Spokane. Yet nameless, these social groupings were far from unimportant. Bonds of common habitat, common interest, like customs, like values, one religion and one language are not to be passed over lightly. The feeling of unity that exists among speakers of a common dialect often is especially striking. This is particularly true where the area covered by a dialect is contiguous and relatively small, as with the Klikitat and Kittitas. These two ethnic units are identical

Figure 3. Territory and villages of the Spokane groups and the Coeur d'Alene. See text for village names.

in extent with two Sahaptin dialects, and are designated in native terms by the dialect names.[21] Examination of many text occurrences of these names has revealed the illuminating fact, according to Dr. Melville Jacobs, that they carry a further connotation perhaps best expressed as "our people."[22]

Further, intermarriage among members of friendly villages not far separated was exceedingly common, resulting in

[21] See section VII.
[22] Personal conversation.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

relatives being distributed over a number of villages. Then too, common hunting, berrying and root digging grounds were used by a number of villages, the grouping being determined by factors mentioned above together with geographical conditions. During these activities village affiliation was more or less forgotten and all mingled freely. In the light of these facts we perhaps are reasonably justified in applying arbitrary terms of identification to units nameless from the native point of view. We seriously err only when we attribute political unity to such groups.

VI.

Boundaries between groups of the Columbia Basin varied greatly in exactitude, as might be anticipated under the conditions outlined above. Almost all villages were located on waterways, resulting in boundaries being most definite at points where streams or rivers were crossed. The greater the distance from population centers, the more vague the lines of demarcation grew. Thus, far back in hunting territory or far out in desert root digging grounds, boundaries sometimes completely faded out. An attempt has been made in preparing the accompanying maps to indicate roughly the preciseness of the various boundaries by the relative space between adjacent segments of the broken lines of demarcation.[33] In a few instances lack of definiteness is the result of insufficient data, as indicated below. But during the gathering of this material every group in the Basin was visited and the maps were first drawn in the presence of informants as information was given, bit by bit, including village locations as well as lines of boundary. This procedure permitted a degree of accuracy and completeness which could not have been achieved through reconstruction from notes.

[33] This applies to figs. 1, 3, and 5. In figure 2 the continuous outline is broken to indicate indefiniteness of boundary; in figure 4, which was drawn earlier and is reproduced from Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem," only the division between the Sanpoil and Nespelem is shown by the segmented line technique. Note also in the latter map that the Southern Okanogan and the Lower Spokane are designated by native names in phonetic transcription (cf. section VII).

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

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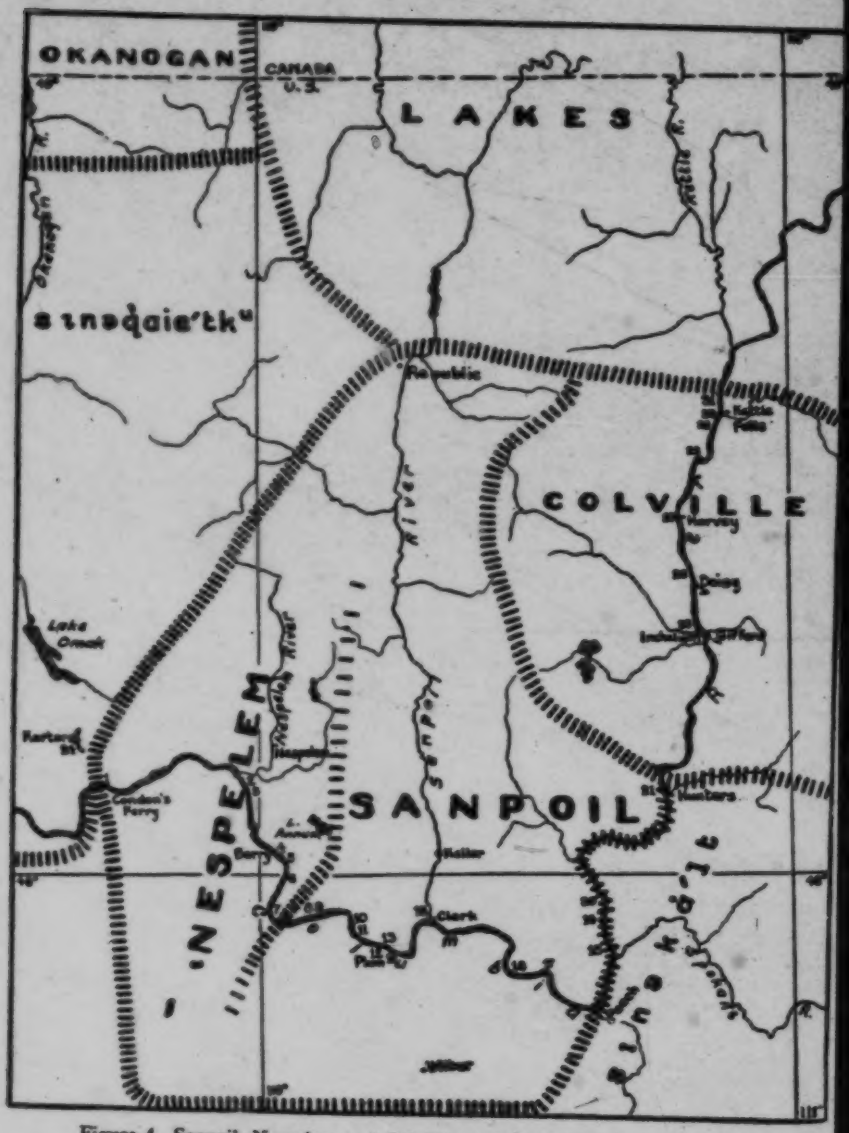

Figure 4. Sanpoil, Nespelem and Colville territories and villages. Figures refer to village names in text.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

The precision with which a boundary line is indicated must not be taken as an index of concordance or culture, but merely as a reflection of ethnic unity. Thus the hunting territory of one group might be quite open to use by another even though the bounds be highly specific. This freedom of use was the rule among many of the Salish groups. But among the Yakima, for example, outsiders were required to obtain formal permis-

Figure 5. Territories of the Middle Columbia Salish and the Northwestern Sahaptin. For village names see text.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

the "Snake" invasions reached the "high water mark." Teit summarizes his reconstruction of antecedent events:

> The pressure of the Snake seems to have resulted, first, in a displacement of Shahaptian by them; second, in a displacement of Waiilatpuan tribes [the Sahaptin Cayusé and Molale] either by Shahaptian or Snake or both; third, in a displacement of Salish tribes by Shahaptian and Waiilatpuan, but chiefly by the former.[53]

The last of these conditions, at least, if fulfilled could not have failed to result in profound chaos at the point of juncture, to set up reverberations reaching far northward into Washington, and to create deep seated enmities between Sahaptin and Salish, as well as between Cayuse and other Sahaptins. But Lewis and Clark saw nothing of chaos on the river. They demonstrated that conditions were stable in 1805 in all of eastern Washington, since virtually no change in either Sahaptin or Salish distributions took place subsequently. They found the Cayuse and other Sahaptins, not engaged in bitter conflict, but entirely friendly, as they are to this day. They found the Nez Percé and Palus enjoying peaceful trading relations with the Salish Coeur d'Alene, not attempting to seize their homelands. They observed no instance of Sahaptin-Salish enmity, thus supporting the contention of natives today that warfare between the two has never been known.[54]

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NOTES ON THE TENINO, MOLALA, AND PAIUTE OF OREGON

The following notes are offered by way of comment upon the tribal distributions in central Oregon recently compiled by J. V. Berreman.[55] The information and inferences given below are based upon field work by the author among the Tenino on the Warmsprings Reservation in the summers of 1934 and 1935.

THE TENINO

The Tenino or Warmsprings Sahaptin occupied the banks of the Columbia River between the Upper Chinook (Wasco and Wishram) on the west and the Umatilla on the east, as well as the lower reaches of the Deschutes

[53] Teit, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

[54] Not only were tribal locations stable in the area under assumed pressure, but particular families of the "intrusive" Sahaptin have lived in particular villages for as long as five generations (see footnote 5; Morrison's f's f's m was born near Kittitas, Wash., at least as early as 1810).

[55] *Tribal Distribution in Oregon.*

4: Ray et al (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

131* 173 361 and John Day Rivers. They were divided into four sub-tribes or rather pairs of villages—one, with rather flimsy and temporary buildings, located on the river and used during the fishing season in the warmer months; the other, with substantial permanent dwellings, located several miles distant, usually away from the river, at a spot which provided water, fuel, and

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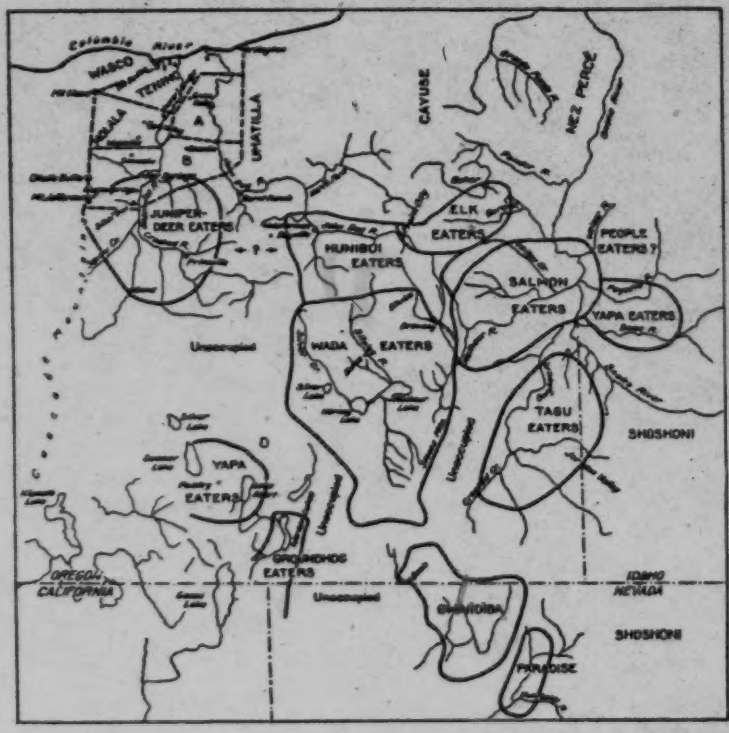

FIG. 2. Territory of the Tenino, Molala, and Oregon Paiute. Tenino-Molala territory (broken lines) by Murdock. A, disputed territory of Paiute, used by John Day Tenino for hunting; B, originally Paiute territory, from which the Paiute were displaced by Tenino. (Numbers near the Columbia indicate native sites mentioned in the text.) Northern Paiute territory (solid lines) by Blyth.

131* 173 361 shelter from the winds during the colder half of the year. The four subdivisions, originally independent though always friendly, were:

1. The Tenino proper, who during the summer occupied the village of

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

tinai'nu (1)[56] about four miles east of The Dalles on the left bank of the Columbia, and who wintered six miles inland at taqa'xtaqax (2).

2. The Wayam or Deschutes, who summered at waya'm (3: modern Celilo) and wintered at wanwa'wi (4) on the left bank of the Deschutes not far from its junction with the Columbia.

3. The John Day, whose summer and winter villages (takcpa'c [6] and maxa'xpa [5]) were both located on the lower John Day River within a few miles of the Columbia, and whose territory adjoined that of the Umatilla near Arlington.

4. The Tygh, an early nineteenth century offshoot from the Tenino proper, who expelled the Molala from their former territory and occupied their villages: taix, their winter village at modern Tygh Valley, and tlxni', their summer fishing site at modern Sherar's Bridge on the Deschutes. The "Tygh" and "Tilquni" of Mooney[57] are thus not two sub-tribes but merely two names for the same sub-tribe derived from its two villages.

The John Day, who alone of the four sub-tribes seem to have had a permanent foothold on the Washington bank of the Columbia, habitually went to Mt Adams for berries, whereas the other three groups frequented Mt Hood during the berry season. All four, however, ranged south from the Columbia for game and roots. Complete freedom of trade and intercourse prevailed between the Tenino and the Wasco, Wishram, Umatilla, and Sahaptin tribes of Washington. With the Paiute alone, whom they raided for slaves, were they on terms of chronic hostility. After the treaty of June 25th, 1855, the Tenino removed to the Warmsprings Reservation, where they have been settled ever since in the vicinity of Simnasho. Since their establishment on the reservation they have called themselves malila' (cf. Mooney's "Melilema"), which is merely a Sahaptin adaptation of "warm springs."

THE MOLALA

According to Tenino sources, the Molala, whom they call tai'tilpam or mo'lalis, were a small tribe, possibly one-third as numerous as the Tenino, who spoke a language which neither the Tenino nor the Wasco could understand. In culture they differed markedly from the Paiute and resembled the Tenino, although they did not keep slaves. They had only one winter village, on the site of modern Tygh Valley, and moved every spring to a summer fishing village at Sherar's Bridge on the Deschutes. They dug roots in the vicinity of modern Wapinitia and gathered berries on the eastern

[56] Numbers in parentheses refer to similarly numbered sites indicated on the accompanying map, Figure 2.

[57] Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion*, pp. 741–42.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

slope of Mt Hood. They sometimes hunted to the south, in the region of Simnasho, but this was really Paiute territory. The Molala and Paiute were hostile, although the Tenino preserve no tradition of particular wars between the two tribes.

THE PAIUTE

The country south of the Molala, including the berrying grounds around Ollalie Butte and Mt Jefferson and the entire area of the present Warmsprings Reservation, has been Paiute territory, say the Tenino, from time immemorial. In this region the Paiute formerly had at least three winter sites: la'xwaixt wanai'tat or modern Hot Springs, catai'kt or modern Warmsprings, and siksi'kwi on Seekseekwa Creek. The rich root-gathering country around Shaniko was also exploited by the Paiute. On the John Day River the Paiute came in contact with the John Day sub-tribe of the Tenino. The lower middle reaches of this river, directly east of the Molala country, seem always to have been used to some extent by the John Day, although they admit that the country properly belonged to the Paiute.

THE DISPLACEMENT OF THE MOLALA

Sometime during the decade 1810–1820, or within a very few years thereof, the Molala were driven out of their territory by the Tenino. A circumstantial account of this Tenino-Molala war was obtained from informant Johnnie Quinn, who had heard the story as a youngster from his grandfather, an actual participant as a young man of nineteen or twenty. The approximate date may be worked out from the fact that, according to agency records, Quinn was born about 1853 and the corroborative evidence that he still retains memories of pre-reservation days. The war began with an act of aggression by the Tenino proper, the Wayam and John Day sub-tribes not participating. Coveting the productive fishing site of the Molala at Sherar's Bridge, the Tenino moved in early one spring before the Molala had left their winter village. We are not concerned here with the details of how the Tenino met the Molala attack, rescued their leader when he was wounded in the knee with an arrow, and eventually put the enemy to flight. The important fact is that the Molala were driven in a body westward across the Cascade Range, whence they have never since returned, and that their territory and villages were taken over by a group of Tenino colonists who eventually came to form the Tygh sub-tribe.

TENINO ENCROACHMENT UPON THE PAIUTE

Having displaced the Molala, the Tenino began to drive farther southward against the Paiute. Gradually, in part through slave raids but mainly through the ruthless extermination of Paiute groups encountered on hunt-

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

Okanagan; and the *Pisquouse*,[149] on the west bank of the Columbia between the Okanagan and Priest Rapids. 101 131

THE SAHAPTIN FAMILY, the last of the Columbian group, is immediately south of the Salish, between the Cascade and Bitter Root mountains, reaching southward, in general terms, to the forty-fifth parallel, but very irregularly bounded by the Shoshone tribes of the Californian group. Of its nations, the *Nez Percés*,[150] or Sahaptins proper, dwell on the Clearwater and its branches, and on the Snake about the forks; the *Palouse*[151] occupy the region north of the Snake about the mouth of the Palouse; the south banks of the Columbia and Snake near their confluence, and the banks of the lower Walla Walla are occupied by the *Walla Wallas*;[152] the *Yakimas* and *Klikatats*[153] inhabit the region north of the Dalles,

[149] 'So much intermarried with the Yakamas that they have almost lost their nationality.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 236.

[150] 'Pierced Noses,' so named by the Canadians, perhaps from the nasal ornaments of the first of the tribe seen, although the custom of piercing the nose has never been known to be prevalent with this people. 'Generally known and distinguished by the name of "black robes," in contradistinction to those who live on fish.' Named Nez Perces from the custom of boring the nose to receive a white shell, like the fluke of an anchor. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 305, 185–6. 'There are two tribes of the Pierced-Nose Indians, the upper and the lower.' *Brownell's Ind. Races*, pp. 533–5. 'Though originally the same people, their dialect varies very perceptibly from that of the Tushepaws.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 341. Called *Thoiga-rik-kah*, *Tsoi-yah*, 'Cowse-eaters,' by the Snakes. 'Ten times better off to-day than they were then'—'a practical refutation of the time-honored lie, that intercourse with whites is an injury to Indians.' *Stuart's Montana*, pp. 76–7. 'In character and appearance, they resemble more the Indians of the Missouri than their neighbors, the Salish.' *Hale's Ethnog.* in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 212; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 54. 304 197 177

[151] 'La tribu Paloose appartient à la nation des Nez-percés et leur ressemble sous tous les rapports.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 31.

[152] The name comes from that of the river. It should be pronounced Wăl̆ă-Wăl̆ă, very short. *Pandosy's Gram.*, p. 9. 'Descended from slaves formerly owned and liberated by the Nez Percés.' *Parker's Explor. Tour.* p. 247. 'Not unlike the Pierced-Noses in general appearance, language, and habits.' *Brownell's Ind. Races*, pp. 533–5. Parts of three different nations at the confluence of the Snake and Columbia. *Gass' Jour.*, pp. 218–19. 'None of the Indians have any permanent habitations' on the south bank of the Columbia about and above the Dalles. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 365. 'Generally camping in winter on the north side of the river.' *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 223. 361

[153] The name Yakima is a word meaning 'Black Bear' in the Walla Walla dialect. They are called Klikatats west of the mountains. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 407. 'The Klikatats and Yakimas, in all essential peculiarities of character, are identical, and their intercourse is constant.' *Id.*, p. 403, and *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 225. 'Pshawanwappam bands, usually called Yakamas.' The name signifies 'Stony Ground.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac.*

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

101 131 between the Cascade Range and the Columbia, the former in the valley of the Yakima, the latter in the mountains about Mt. Adams. Both nations extend in some bands across into the territory of the Sound family. The natives of Oregon east of the Cascade Range, who have not usually been included in the Sahaptin family, I will divide somewhat arbitrarily into the *Wascos*, extending from the mountains eastward to John Day River, and the *Cayuse*,[154] from this river across the Blue Mountains to the Grande Ronde.

141 The inland Columbians are of medium stature, usually from five feet seven to five feet ten inches, but sometimes reaching a height of six feet; spare in flesh, but muscular and symmetrical; with well-formed limbs, the legs not being deformed as among the Chinooks by constant sitting in the canoe; feet and hands are in many 147 tribes small and well made. In bodily strength they are inferior to whites, but superior, as might be expected from their habits, to the more indolent fish-eaters on the Pacific. The women, though never corpulent, are more inclined to rotundity than the men. The Nez Percés and Cayuses are considered the best specimens, while in

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dosy's Gram., p. vii. 'Roil-roil-pam, is the Klikatat country.' 'Its meaning is "the Mouse country."' *Id.* The Yakima valley is a great national rendezvous for these and surrounding nations. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 19, 21. Kliketats, meaning robbers, was first the name given to the Whulwhypums, and then extended to all speaking the same language. For twenty-five years before 1854 they overran the Willamette Valley, but at that time were forced by government to retire to their own country. *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 244–7.

[154] Wasco is said to mean 'basin,' and the tribe derives its name, traditionally, from the fact that formerly one of their chiefs, his wife having died, spent much of his time in making cavities or basins in the soft rock for his children to fill with water and pebbles, and thereby amuse themselves. *Victor's All over Ogn.*, pp. 94–5. The word Cayuse is perhaps the French *Cailloux*, 'pebbles.' Called by Tolmie, 'Wyeilats or Kyoose.' He says their language has an affinity to that of the Carriers and Umpquas. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 249–50. 'Resemble the Walla-Wallas very much.' *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 279–80. 'The imperial tribe of Oregon' claiming jurisdiction over the whole Columbia region. *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 81. The Snakes, Walla-Wallas, and Cayuse meet annually in the Grande Ronde Valley. *Thornton's Ogn. and Cal.*, vol. i., p. 270. 'Individuals of the pure blood are few, the majority being intermixed with the Nez Perces and the Wallah-Wallahs.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 218–19. The region which I give to the Wascos and Cayuses is divided on Hale's map between the Walla-Wallas, Waiilatpu, and Molele.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

The dwellings are
342 arranged in small villages generally located in winter on
361 the banks of small streams a little away from the main rivers. For a short distance up the Columbia, houses similar to those of the Chinooks are built of split cedar and bark. The Walla Wallas, living in summer in the ordinary mat lodge, often construct for winter a subterranean abode by digging a circular hole ten or twelve feet deep, roofing it with poles or split cedar covered with grass and mud, leaving a small opening at the top for exit and entrance by means of a notched-log ladder. The Atnahs on Fraser River spend the winter in similar structures, a simple slant roof of mats or bark sufficing for shade and shelter in summer. The Okanagans construct their lodges over an excavation in the ground several feet deep, and like many other nations, cover their matting in winter with grass and earth.[162]

[162] The Sokulk houses 'generally of a square or oblong form, varying in length from fifteen to sixty feet, and supported in the inside by poles or forks about six feet high.' The roof is nearly flat. The Echeloot and Chilluckittequaw houses were of the Chinook style, partially sunk in the ground. The Nez Percés live in houses built 'of straw and mats, in the form of the roof of a house.' One of these 'was one hundred and fifty-six feet long, and about fifteen wide, closed at the ends, and having a number of doors on each side.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 340, 351, 369–70, 381–2, 540. Nez Percé dwellings twenty to seventy feet long and from ten to fifteen feet wide; free from vermin. Flathead houses conical but spacious, made of buffalo and moose skins over long poles. Spokane lodges oblong or conical, covered with skins or mats. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 148, 192, 200. Nez Percé and Cayuse lodges 'composed of ten long poles, the lower ends of which are pointed and driven into the ground; the upper blunt and drawn together at the top by thongs' covered with skins. 'Universally used by the mountain Indians while travelling.' Umatillas live in 'shantys or wigwams of driftwood, covered with buffalo or deer skins.' Klicatats 'in miserable loose hovels.' *Townsend's Nar.*, pp. 104–5, 156, 174. Okanagan winter lodges are long and narrow, 'chiefly of mats and poles, covered over with grass and earth;' dug one or two feet below the surface; look like the roof of a common house set on the ground. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 313–4. On the Yakima River 'a small canopy, hardly sufficient to shelter a sheep, was found to contain four generations of human beings.' *Pickering's Races*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. ix., pp. 34, 37. On the Clearwater 'there are not more than four lodges in a place or village, and these small camps or villages are eight or ten miles apart.' 'Summer lodges are made of willows and flags, and their winter lodges of split pine.' *Gass' Jour.*, pp. 212, 221, 223. At Kettle Falls, the lodges are of rush mats.' 'A flooring is made of sticks, raised three or four feet from the ground, leaving the space beneath it entirely open, and forming a cool, airy, and shady place, in which to hang their salmon.' *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 309, 212–3. The Pend d'Oreilles roll their tent-mats into cylindrical bundles for convenience in traveling. *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 215, 238, 282. *Barnhart*, in *Id.*, 1862, p. 271. The Shushwap den is warm but 'necessarily unwholesome, and redolent....of anything but roses.' *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 77. Yakimas, 'rude

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5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

The inland families eat fish and game, with roots and fruit; no nation subsists without all these supplies; but the proportion of each consumed varies greatly according to locality. Some tribes divide their forces regularly into bands, of men to fish and hunt, of women to cure fish and flesh, and to gather roots and berries. I have spoken of the coast tribes as a fish-eating, and the interior tribes as a hunting people, attributing in great degree their differences of person and character to their food, or rather to their methods of obtaining it; yet fish constitutes an important element of inland subsistence as well. Few tribes live altogether without salmon, the great staple of the Northwest; since those dwelling on streams inaccessible to the salmon by reason of intervening falls, obtain their supply by annual migrations to the fishing-grounds, or by trade with other nations. The principal salmon fisheries of the Columbia are at the Dalles, the falls ten miles above, and at Kettle Falls. Other productive stations are on the Powder, Snake, Yakima, Okanagan, and Clarke rivers. On the Fraser, which has no falls in its lower course, fishing is carried on all along the banks of the river instead of at regular stations, as on the Columbia. Nets, weirs, hooks, spears, and all the implements and methods by which fish are taken and cured have been sufficiently described in treating of the coast region;[1] in the interior I find no important variations except in the basket method in use at the Chaudières or Kettle Falls by the Quiarlpi tribe. Here an immense willow basket, often ten feet in diameter and twelve feet deep, is suspended at the falls from

huts covered with mats.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 407. Shushwaps erect rude slants of bark or matting; have no tents or houses. *Milton and Cheadle's N. W. Pass.*, p. 242. From the swamps south of Flatbow Lake, 'the Kootanie Indians obtain the klusquis or thick reed, which is the only article that serves them in the construction of their lodges,' and is traded with other tribes. *Sullivan*, in *Palliser's Explor.*, p. 15. In winter the Salish cover their mats with earth. *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 207. Flag huts of the Walla Wallas. *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 85; *Mullan's Rept*, pp. 49–50; *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 61; *Coke's Rocky Mts.*, p. 295; *Irving's Astoria*, pp. 315, 319; *Id., Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301; *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 185; *Id., Hist. Missions*, p. 284; *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 105–6. *Hind*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. x., 1821, pp. 74–5, 79.

[1] [See pp. 232-233, category 116-- Analyst]